5. Betrothal and Marriage

584 If the young man has not made his choice, the father draws his attention to such and such a girl whom he would like to have as a daughter-in-law, after having made sure of her father's approval and agreed with him on the date of the official betrothal (gusaba umugeni, lit., to ask a girl in marriage).

On the appointed day he returns to the home of the girl's parents accompanied by one or two clients (3) carrying a new hoe and

3. One of his relatives among the Bahutu.

a jug of hydromel and leading a cow [25] called y'ilembo (lit., in order to enter the rugo). He is let into the rugo. The young man's father and the girl's father, as well as his brothers and brothers-in-law, sit on mats, drink, smoke and talk of this and that. Meanwhile, the mother and the girl keep themselves hidden in a near-by nook and follow the conversation eagerly.

After this preamble which is merely a distraction, the talk turns to the marriage. This often gives rise to a lively discussion during which each of the parties defends his interests. When agreement is finally reached, the father says: "we give you our daughter, but the cow is not fine enough (1); bring us some others." An umugaragu is

1. Even if the animal is magnificent.

then ordered to bring seven other cows to complete the umunani (2)

2. As we have seen above (cf. Dowry) the girl's father nowadays only keeps one out of the two cows for himself.

and to ask the girl's parents for their approval as to the date of the wedding.

[834] Sexual intercourse is strictly forbidden to the betrothed.

The wedding usually takes place at the home of the young
● 585 man's father (3).

3. The marriage ceremonies have been

585 minutely described by the Rev. Father Schumacher (Anthropos, 1910, pp. 870-906) and the Rev. Father Pagès (Congo, 1922, Vol. I, pp. 645-63 and Vol. II, pp. 42-68). We merely refer the reader to these articles. This matter concerns folklore rather than common law. Hence we are intentionally leaving it out of our report.

584 If, after having accepted the dowry, the girl's father does not keep his promise and refuses to give his daughter or gives her to another, he must immediately return the dowry. But by that very act, he breaks all bonds of friendship with the young man's parents, and in the future no one of the young man's family will marry a girl of the other family. The same is true if the suitor breaks the engagement.

[26] 6. Domestic Life

591 Marriage in Ruanda is patrilocal, that is to say, the woman leaves her parents to go and live with her husband. If the wedding has taken place in the woman's family, the young couple remain there for some time (gutahira), then go and settle with the husband's family.

585 Among the Batutsi, about two months after the wedding, the wife's parents send their daughter the intwikururano (from gutwikurura, lit., to unveil, to uncover), consisting of beer, sorghum flour, and milk. The purpose of these gifts is to allow the young woman to come out of the retreat imposed on her the day after the wedding and to show herself in public. For his part, the husband's father gives his daughter-in-law a cow called y'itshyali (lit., of the nest). The young couple then leave the dwelling they have occupied provisionally and go and occupy the rugo that has been built for each of them [sic]. A little later they go and spend a night with the wife's parents (gucha mw'ilembo, lit., to cross the threshold, or gusubya amaguru, lit., to return on foot) and also confer gifts on them on this occasion.

595 reach a marriageable age, and the girl has been chosen as his marriage partner by his parents; he will then take a concubine from a lower class for the waiting period. However, in most cases, the parents give their sons free choice.

584 When a young man takes a liking to a girl, he first proposes marriage to her without asking anyone else. If she accepts, the young man asks his parents to pay the "bride price." When the parents have given their consent, the suitor sends a matchmaker to the parents of the girl or, if her parents have died, to her closest relatives. If the father or, if he is dead, the mother refuses or explains that the girl has already been promised to someone else, the matter is considered closed, and the two lovers have to give each other up. If, contrary to
836 the orders of the parents, they engage in extramarital intercourse, the girl will, in most cases, receive corporal punishment. If she should become pregnant, she is placed completely outside the social pale, for by her behavior she has cheated her parents of the purchase price, and she has also deprived other girls of the opportunity of being asked for in marriage in her place.

583 However, when a girl's father or mother, as the case may be, accepts the suitor's proposal, the matchmaker has to negotiate the purchase price (inkwano) for the bride. This fluctuates depending on the individual, the position of and the property owned by the bridegroom and the bride. Among the large class of the unpropertied, a few strings of small pearls and a few pots of pombe beer are considered sufficient. Among more prosperous groups the bride costs, besides beer and pearls, one or more goats and sometimes even one or two head of cattle (No. 4, p. 221). Among the families of the rich and powerful, that is, the Baganwa, a bride may seldom be had for [107] less than 10 to 15 head of cattle. A bride can also be purchased by paying a part of the agreed price. In this case the young husband becomes security for the rest of the money but does not need to pay it if the marriage is annulled.

● 585 The objects constituting the agreed purchase price are sent to the bride's parents by the bridegroom through the matchmaker.

585 As soon as they have been delivered, the bride follows the matchmaker to the newly-built hut of the bridegroom. There the wedding is duly celebrated; the family members give presents to each other, eat and drink, and dance. Through her marriage the wife becomes part of the husband's family (patriarchate). On her wedding day the bride is expected to feign great sorrow; she covers her head with a veil, and the bridegroom must try to assuage her grief by giving her presents. For seven days the young couple remain unseen in their hut, but even on the following days the wife covers her head with a veil whenever she goes out of the house (No. 4, p. 222; No. 19, p. 359).

Great value is placed on the bride's virginity. If the sleeping mat of the young wife shows traces of blood after the wedding night, the young husband gratefully sends this proof to his wife's parents and adds a hoe as a present.

582 There are quite a number of obstacles to marriage. Above all lineal and collateral blood relatives, members of the same clan or of the same totem group, are not allowed to marry each other; exogamy is the supreme rule (see p. 160).

582 563 Even among the Batwa of Urundi marriage between close relatives is not permitted. Marriage between a Muhutu and a Mutussi woman is not permitted, or it is possible only by royal permission in exceptional cases. The racial pride of the Batussi repudiate such a union. Even where toleration is the 836 rule, sexual intercourse between unmarried members of the same race is probably rare since Barundi mothers keep a watchful eye on their adolescent daughters. It may safely be said that the Barundi do not permit pre-marital freedom on principle.

837 684 The husband expects marital fidelity, unless he purposely surrenders his wife to a clan member. In contrast, the husband is not so strict about his own fidelity. It is true that adultery committed in secret is not punished by law as a case of theft, although in fact it is regarded as such by the Barundi. However, the deceived husband is entitled to kill the guilty parties in flagrante delicto (No. 19, p. 14). In most cases he contents

192 of a cow whereby he gives him the animal under condition that the
233 first female calf born of this cow will be handed to him. He may
[420] even take the cow and keep it until the first calf is weaned, so long as he shares the milk with the owner of the animal over that period of time.

The term umukangara serves to designate the first heifer born under this agreement.

Inka y' inkungurano (kugurana, "to exchange"), a purchased cow. The exchange is effected against a sterile cow or two young bulls, some 20 goats or about 30 basketfuls of beans.

Inka y' inkwano (gukwa, "to buy a wife"), cow given as a bride price to acquire a wife.

Inka y' indongoranyo (kulongoranya, "to help establish a house-
[583] hold"). This term serves to designate the animal that well-to-do
[585] parents present to their daughter on her wedding day. They also supply her with her trousseau at that time: a tanned and buttered cow-hide enclosed in a basket, along with some rings of vegetable fiber, two mats for the bed, a supply of butter, etc., to provide for the early needs of the young couple.

192 Inka y' ichari (umwari, "young wife"). This expression /507/
233 designates the cow offered by the parents-in-law upon the birth of
431 their first grandson. The son-in-law must present a few jugs of beer
844 to his wife's parents along with his son. He is given a cow or heifer in return.

The father-in-law usually takes into account what he received at the time of his daughter's marriage. If his means are moderate, as are those of most Bahutu, he merely gives a young bull or a few hoes (1).

1. In such cases the young bull is designated by the name of igishito or uluhanderw' inka, "the side (that is, half) of a cow."

The gift offered in these circumstances rightfully devolves

581 great importance because it unites two families and is a step in the direction of social integration. In Nduga where farmers have no political importance, marriages also have no significance.
582 This probably also explains the difference in the purchase prices of brides. In the north these prices are very high; in Nduga they are very low. Hence, marriages in the north are much more stable.

583 The price paid for the bride, which must be returned in case
562 of a separation, is the economic guarantee of the permanence of a union. In the words of the natives, a marriage in Mulera is an act of exchange between two clans. One clan furnishes the horned cow, ntuku, which is the bride price, the other clan provides the unhorned cown, nkunge, that is, the bride. The woman, like the cow, is family property. After the death of her husband she is inherited, so her purchase price and her progeny do not have to be returned. This inheritance is called kutshura.

584 In Kissaka a bride is wooed when she is still a small child. The suitor sends banana beer to the parents of the bride. If the parents approve, they accept the gift. Then, when there is an opportunity, the bride price is agreed upon. The presents of beer are repeated from time to time until the girl comes of age. These presents are supposed to call attention to the suitor and further the marriage settlement. As many as 20 to 50 jugs of beer
585 are sent. When the girl is mature, that is, when she is about 15 years old and her breasts are the size of a fist, she is brought to the house of her husband on the appointed day by the sister of her father, her brothers, and her attendants (bágaragu). They stay the whole evening, drink banana beer, and converse. While the bride sits with her aunt in the inner part of the house, the rest of the party is in the section facing the door (muliango). After the entire supply of beer has been drunk, they all return to their houses, and the newly married couple is left alone.

It often happens that the bride runs home to her parents and does not wish to return to her husband. In this case the husband must send more presents of beer to the parents-in-law. If he happens to be out of beer, he must send a man, who promises to send more beer, to fetch his wife.

584 the first present of beer, even though he intends to withdraw his approval later. The refusal to accept the first gift is considered a bad insult and evokes bitter enmity. The visits accompanying the presents of beer are repeated from time to time. If the father of the girl does not discourage these visits, the price of the bride is discussed during the drinking bouts. In most cases it is a cow and two jugs of beer. The latter, however, can also be replaced by hoes. [221] The cow wears the vine around its neck known as mushishwa, and to it are fastened one of the two beer jugs or the hoe. The name for all these things is bukwe, "bride price." The mushishwa plant is added to make the agreement binding, to prevent the parents from changing their minds and giving the girl to another youth. Gifts are given to the nearest relatives of the girl as well as to the father. The father's brother gets three jugs of beer, and the mother's brother, two. The girl's mother gets three hoes, the maternal grandmother and the brothers, one hoe each. Payments are delivered a few days after the first negotiations. If the marriage does not take place, the bride price and, above all, the hoe with the mushishwa must be returned.

As the date of the marriage draws near, the visits with the obligatory presents of beer become more frequent. After a specified amount of beer has been drunk, the day of the ceremony is agreed upon.

585 The relatives of the bridegroom prepare a large amount of beer. The father of the girl or, if he is no longer living, her older brother invites relatives and women friends to bring the girl to the house of her future husband, along with a large retinue.

The girl is wrapped in a mat and either led or, if the roads are bad, carried. If during this journey anyone succeeds in catching a glimpse of the bride's face, the marriage will be of short duration. The retinue also carries an empty gourd, which is supposed to assure the girl of progeny, and the gifts from her relatives. In one of the baskets is the cowhide which she will wear after she is married; the other contains her jewelry. The procession sings along the entire way. The girl is received at the entrance to the courtyard of the bridegroom, who comes to meet her holding a gourd.

585 He hands it to her, lifts the skin in which he is dressed, and exposes his thigh with the words: "ndakuhaye omurundi, uzachukura inka yo kukuhaliki (I give you my leg, it will become a bull for you, that will mount you)."

The gourd which the man hands over is a symbol for the belly of a pregnant woman, and the ceremony symbolically expresses the wish of the man that she bear him children. The bride walks through the courtyard and enters the house where the marriage ceremony is to be continued. There she gives her future mother-in-law the gourd, kisabo, for safekeeping. She also leaves her the gourd she brought along and the two baskets of presents. The [182] second gourd is very carefully preserved, for in it the young wife [222], after the birth of her child, brings beer to the home of her parents to sacrifice to the manes. In this way she requests the manes not to harm her child. Little children are given liquids from the same gourd. It must be quite new and must not have been used previously, even for water.

Afterwards the guests separate within the house. The women go to their section of the house, the mbele, opposite the entrance; the men remain in the ikirambi, the middle of the house. The basangwa, guests of the bridegroom, sit on one side; the bahelekeza, members of the bridal procession, sit on the other. The uninvited guests remain in the courtyard outside the hut.

After everyone has drunk copiously of the beer, they ask for food. One of those present suggests that they begin with the marriage ceremony, since it is getting late. The bridegroom gets up, takes a container of milk, and goes to the women's section. The women resist and do not let him get near the bride. The bridegroom violently drives them away and strides toward the girl who is sitting on the ground with her legs spread apart. He kneels in front of her, spits milk on her breasts, and says as he rises: "mumpe impundu, ndalongoye (give me shouts of joy, I have married)."

This is the core of the entire marriage ceremony. Unmarried girls may not be present when this takes place. The parents of the girl and the brothers of her father are not present at the wedding. They celebrate the daughter's marriage with beer in their own home.

585 842 After this ceremony one of the young husband's sisters grinds flour, makes millet mush, and distributes it among the small children. This is done in order to guarantee the young couple numerous progeny. The same girl prepares food for the young wife on the following day.

585 782 The marriage ceremonies are concluded with the sacrifice of a goat. After the children have eaten their millet mush, the head of the family says: "We are going to eat." The guest reply that the women would like to wash their hands. The women do not agree with this and say: "We shall eat after the men have finished." Then the head of the family has a goat brought to him. After this is done, the guests look at the goat critically and say that it is not beautiful enough. Then another is fetched. This, also, does not satisfy the demands of those present. Then a third one is brought. This can be accepted if it is beautiful. After the goat has been accepted, it is beaten with a stick while being driven to the bridegroom's house. It is killed near his bed with kicks and blows, not with a knife in the usual way.

This ceremony supposedly indicates how the wife would have been treated if this sacrifice had not been made. According to another version [223], it means that the woman should be as soft and yielding as the goat that had all its bones broken. The meat must be divided among those present, otherwise the marriage would be childless. The men eat it on the same day; the women take it home for the children, because in Mulera they themselves may not eat goat's meat.

585 The men eat the meat along with millet mush. After everyone has eaten and drunk his fill, the guests disperse in the morning. The guests of the bridegroom accompany the guests of the bride for a short distance and honor them in this way.

The young husband soon returns, takes the firewood that has been prepared, and lights two fires at the places where the women and the men were seated. The bride goes out with the guests but immediately returns to her mother-in-law, where she remains. The mother-in-law prepares a meal, but the young bride refuses to eat it. The husband must persuade his hungry wife to do so by giving her presents.

In the evening the mother-in-law tries to prevail upon the wife to go to her husband's hut. The wife stubbornly resists yielding to

585 her husband, and there is a quarrel. It is proper for the man to show marks on his body which indicate to everyone that his wife bravely defended herself and did not yield like a hussy. However, the man may not be strong enough to break the wife's resistance with force, and he must then persuade her with presents to eat and to yield to him.

After the marriage, the woman must remain hidden for a time, that is, until her relatives come with gifts of beer, food, and bracelets. This visit usually takes place on the third day. On this occasion mats are brought along which the young wife made at home. She may chat with her relatives, the young girls who brought the mats. On this day there is dancing, singing, and much drinking.

Some time afterwards the parents again send their daughter presents. Among these, besides food, is a brand new hoe with a new handle. On this day the wife dances with her husband and the new hoe while the rest of the relatives sing an accompaniment. The wife then goes to the field for the first time and works a little. Until this day, called kushishura, the man has no sexual intercourse with his other wives. After the hoeing, grains of millet [842] are brought to the young woman. A handful is scattered on a mat, and she must pick them up with one sweep of her hand. If she fails, the prospects of numerous progeny are poor. She and her husband together grind these grains and use the flour to make beer which they give to small children in order that they themselves will have children.

841 [224] During the first menstrual period after her marriage, the woman is given the cowhide which constitutes the dress of 291 married women, and her head is shaved. However, since girls are 302 not infrequently married before they are mature, it often happens 585 that the wife goes about with her masunzu (shaved pattern) for a long time, waiting for the cowhide. Father F. Dufays told me that he knows of a case where a wife waited eight months for her cowhide, but it is said that the wife sometimes waits as long as two years.

841 Thus, a superstitition has arisen about the shaved pattern on 302 the head. According to it, if a wife does not give up her maiden 585

841 adornment at the proper time (first menstrual period after mar-
302 riage), one of the partners will die young. After her head has
585 been shaved the wife receives gifts from her husband.

585 When the woman has put on her cowhide, she pays her
574 parents a visit. It sometimes happens that if the menstrual period is early this visit precedes the gift of the first hoe. On the way to her parents she has her head wrapped in the skin and is wearing her best jewelry. At her parents' house she grinds flour and fills a basket, piling it high. She removes as much as is piled over the edge of the basket and takes this to her husband. It is cooked
[842] to a stiff mush, and husband and wife eat it together. This ceremony is also supposed to guarantee numerous descendants.

593 Children are prominent in the family. The parents love them tenderly and treat them well. Although the intimate relationship between mother and child excludes the father somewhat, nevertheless the husband and wife show a certain attachment and tenderness toward one another. This is said to be true particularly of the Batutsi.

In Mulera, when a man goes on a journey, his wife pours off a little beer from each jug used and puts it aside. If the man returns and finds no beer, he concludes that his wife has not thought of him and has been unfaithful to him.

586 In Nduga, as we have mentioned before, marriages are of only moderate duration.

585 The Mulera wedding has been beautifully and completely described by Father Felix Dufays (1), and the marriage customs in
[113]

1. Dufays, Father F., "Lied und Gesang bei Brautwerbung und Hochzeit in Mulera-Ruanda [Song and Singing during Courtship and Marriage in Mulera-Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1909, pp. 847-878.

other parts of Ruanda were discussed by Father P. Schumacher. (2)

2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, pp. 870-906.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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584 grew up without anything being arranged for his marriage, he asked his father's brother to find a wife for him.

585 When the day of the marriage came, the bridegroom took a cow and, accompanied by some friends, went to the kraal of the bride's parents, timing his visit to arrive at sunset when the cattle returned from pasture. The friends and relatives of the bride received the young man outside the kraal and they drank beer together. Then a sister of the bride came, and conducted the young man, leaving his friends outside, to a hut in the kraal where the bride was sitting. The bridegroom carried with him a runner of wild gourd which he twisted into a wreath and put on the bride's head. A pot of milk was given to him and he drank a mouthful which he puffed over the bride. He and the bride then placed their hands on the stones of the fire-place on which the pots stood while cooking; they churned a little butter together; a pot with water was put on the fire and together they sprinkled in flour, stirred it with one stick, and made porridge. Then the bridegroom returned to his friends outside the kraal gate and there they danced and drank beer all night, for none of them might sleep.

In the morning a mat was spread outside the kraal gate and the bride's father and some friends sat on it with the bridegroom. A cow was given to the friends of the bridegroom when they left to go home, and later in the day, after the bride's friends had discussed matters, the bridegroom also went home to prepare things for his bride's arrival.

The party which conducted the bride to her new home included her father, her brother's wife, her sister, and her young brother. The bride was carried in a litter and veiled, and the party arrived at the bridegroom's kraal when the cows were returning from the pasture. The bride was received by women relatives of the bridegroom, who took her into a house which they had prepared for her.

In the evening the bride joined her husband, but her young brother slept between her husband and herself that night and sometimes for two or three nights and the marriage might not

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be consummated until he had gone. The rest of the bride's party left on the second day, after receiving presents. 585

A son-in-law did not fear his wife's parents, but was regarded and treated by them as a son. [606]

A man might marry as many as five wives, but he brought only one of them to live in his own village; for the others he built houses in their villages and visited them there. If he was wealthy, which was usually the condition of a man who married more than one wife, he gave each of them cows to supply her with milk, a man to herd them, men to dig her field, and also maids to wait upon her and work in her field. 595 [556]

A wife was usually restricted to her husband in sexual intercourse, but when a great friend of the husband paid him a visit he might permit him to live with one of his wives who acted as the visitor's wife for the time. It was, however, more usual for a guest to go to another house with his own wife, or for the host and his wife to sleep on a mat on the floor and leave the bed to the guest and his wife. 837

Illness and Death

When a man fell ill, his wife informed his relatives and a medicine-man was summoned to discover by augury whether magic was being used or whether the illness was the work of some ghost. If magic was found to be the cause of the illness, the name of the person using it had also to be discovered by augury, and he was accused and brought before the king or some chief to be tried. Invariably a man who had been discovered by augury to be guilty was condemned without question; he might appeal to the poison ordeal, but he had very little chance of escape, and was always put to death. If the augury showed the illness to be due to a ghost, a bull was offered to the ghost and it was begged to stop troubling the man. 754 [787] 695 683 [775] [782]

Before a man died he generally named his heir, who was usually one of his sons, though not necessarily so and not always the eldest son. If a man died without having named 428 [763]

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important for prospective spouses? Among Hutu and Tutsi both patrilineages looked for the right connexion. Has the man's (or girl's) inzu a good reputation? Is it well considered at the king's court? Are they rich? Is it strategic, in present circumstances, to be allied to them? What are the relations between their cattle-lord and ours? Individual qualities considered as socially important were for the prospective wife of a Tutsi that she should be expert at keeping a house very clean, at basket work, and at commanding servants. The Hutu wanted a hard-working wife able to help them in the fields. The Twa appreciated, as we may expect, a skilled potter. The most important qualities of the culturally defined ideal husband was his ability to support economically his wife and their children. That meant for a Tutsi that he should be rich in cattle and clever in political intrigues; for a Hutu that he should be a good labourer and a client appreciated by his lord, and for a Twa that he should be a good craftsman or hunter or a buffoon, liked by his Tutsi protectors. These qualities mentioned by our informants are those which made spouses good partners in the co-operative economic unit of the family. In the mind of Ruanda that aspect of the family was clearly emphasized. Beauty and sex-appeal were also highly appreciated, however, particularly by Tutsi.

The normal marriage age for boys was around twenty-five for Tutsi, seventeen to eighteen for Hutu, and fifteen for Twa. For girls, when 'breasts were fully developed and beginning to fall down' I was told. This gives a rather large range of age. A girl could be married before puberty but she remained with her parents till her first menstruation.

According to informants, virginity was appreciated more than both beauty and ability to co-operate in economic pursuits. This was rationalized in terms of virginity being a guarantee of fertility and of stability in the family. Among the Hutu a small gift was sent to the girl's parents by the husband when the girl was found to be virgin.

The prospective spouse was not chosen by his or her future partner. The boy could express only to his paternal uncle or aunt nothing more than a wish to get married. The father was told of his son's desire and then looked for a suitable girl. When she was found, the inzu council met and the advisability of a connexion with the girl's inzu was discussed. When an agreement was reached on the choice, the boy's father asked for an appointment with the

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girl's father, allowing a sufficient time for the latter to consult his patrilineage. If the answer was favourable, the meeting took place. Accompanied by a kinsman or a client, the boy's father came to visit the girl's father and offered him a jug of beer. After some preliminary talk, he came to the point and asked for the girl.

These preliminary steps were taken very skilfully. Nobody should ever be directly refused. If the girl's kinsfolk did not want the match, the visit of the boy's father was indefinitely delayed under several pretexts. Nobody should be put in such a position as to lose face. The boy and the girl were never officially consulted during these preparatory stages. If, however, one of them categorically refused the choice made, he was not obliged to marry. But it happened very rarely and the opposition of the individual concerned had to be extremely persistent if it was to succeed.

To marry a certain girl against the consent of one's own and her parents was impossible. But the following procedure could be attempted. The boy hid himself in a place to which he knew the girl would go. When she was coming he spat in her face a certain herb which had been chewed and mixed with milk (*imbazi*). They were then considered married as this was the central rite of any wedding. Often the ordinary wedding ceremonies followed. If, however, the girl's inzu were still opposed to that match, they obliged the girl to whistle and milk a cow. As both these actions were tabooed for a married woman, it was clearly meant that the girl was not married. The boy's father had then to pay a fine to the girl's people as a reparation for the wrong done to the girl's family.[5]

In secondary marriages (any marriage subsequent to the first one) there were not many more cultural criteria determining the choice of the spouse. Sororal polygyny was permitted but rare. In order to obtain new connexions the husband preferred to choose subsequent wives from an inzu other than that of his first wife Another reason given is that to have two or three sisters as wives brought more domestic troubles than wives who were not consanguineal relatives. If, however, his first wife was sterile, the husband was likely to ask for one of her sisters or parallel cousins as a second wife, without paying bride-wealth. But this was not a sororate, for the first wife's sister was not said to give birth to children for her sister: she was regarded as bearing them for herself.

[5] See description of other forms of this type of marriage in Pauwels, 1951, pp. 126-9.

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Bride-wealth was definitely not a compensation for the economic loss entailed by the girl's departure from her patrilineage. Her departure was not an impoverishment of her group because it provided it with a new alliance with another descent group; all informants agree on that. Bride-wealth was the socially recognized symbol of the legitimate transfer of fertility from one descent group to another. As long as bride-wealth had not been given, children borne by the woman were considered as belonging to her inzu (they are called *nkuli*). The husband was only their genitor, not their pater.

Bride-wealth received by the girl's father was not to be used only to provide the bride's brother with a wife. There was no direct relation between a man's possibility of getting a wife and his sister's marriage.

(c) The wedding ceremonies

Wedding ceremonies (*ubukwe*) taking place at the groom's father's were very long and complicated. The central rite constituting the wedding was the spitting on the bride's head of chewed herbs mixed with milk, and the placing on her head of a garland made of the leaves of a certain plant (*umuwishywa*). Other rites symbolized the dominance of the patrilineages' interests in the marriage. Both inzu were represented by two groups, the *abashyitsi*, the agnatic relatives of the bride, and *abasangwa*, agnatic relatives of the groom. When the rite was accomplished, *abashyitsi* had to express sorrow by their laments and *abasangwa* to rejoice loudly. Another rite stressed the concern of the kin-groups in the intimate relations between the spouses. A younger brother or paternal parallel cousin of the bride had to lie between the new spouses during some part of their first night together (*gucahagati*). The groom had to beg him to leave. I was told that this signified that it was the bride's patrilineage which had to give permission for the first intercourse. Moreover, after the central rite and before the first intercourse, the father and mother of the groom and the father and mother of the bride had to have sexual relations. If the girl's parents (who did not attend the wedding party) were living far away, the young couple sometimes had to wait for a couple of days before having intercourse.[6]

The high value of virginity was also symbolically stressed.

[6] On wedding celebration, see Kagame, 1954, pp. 143-72.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Firstly, all these ceremonies did not take place when the bride had already been married before or when the girl had been struck by lightning because, as I was told, she was considered to have been raped by the king (thunder being one of the symbols of the king). Secondly, the spreading of the herbs and milk mixture had to be done by surprise and the girl had to cry immediately afterwards. Thirdly, in the first intercourse the girl had to struggle and penetration had to be achieved by force.

For about ten or twelve days the young couple lived semi-secluded in a hut in the groom's father's homestead. Then, at the end of that period, there was another ritual celebration (*gutwikurura*) attended by those who were present at the marriage. The central rite of the ceremony was a dance by the new couple in public. After that, the young wife was allowed to cook for her husband for the first time. The latter was given by his father his share of inheritance, and the couple settled in a compound of their own. Residence was occasionally neolocal but usually patrivirilocal (at the HuFa's).

(d) Polygynous unions

Ruanda may be said to be a polygynous society in two senses. Firstly, polygynous unions were culturally preferred. Secondly, probably thirty per cent. of the unions were polygynous.[7] It was no grand scale polygyny. A man rarely had more than four wives. Usually a polygynous Tutsi had two wives, a Hutu three or four, and a Twa two.

Supplementary wives were an economic asset for rich people, as a Tutsi having herds of cattle in different places found it very useful to be able to put a wife in each of his homesteads as manager; but if he had only such cattle as he could care for himself, a second wife was an expense. It was the same for a Hutu: if he had so many plots that he could not cultivate them all by himself and with the help of his wife, a second one was very useful. If not, she was rather expensive.

To have several wives was also to have many children, which were very highly valued by all Ruanda. For Tutsi occupying very high positions, plural union was a means of establishing useful

[7] 'Any society in which plural unions, however strongly favoured, actually occur in less than this percentage [set arbitrarily at 20 per cent.] of all marriages, is considered monogamous with respect to the family [. . .]' (Murdock, 1949, p. 28).

10: Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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593 daughter is the necessity to prevent incest. The taboo is strong
784 enough to serve as the basis of the oath in court. A man "swears on his daughter", by saying, "If a lie, may I do that act with my daughter, the one named such-and-such".

581 Despite the physical and social distance between father and daughter, they are jointly interested in the earliest possible marriage for her. She is impatient for the pleasures and privileges of the married woman. He is looking forward to the dowry, which he keeps entirely for himself. It is possible that a mother will do her best to put off the marriage. She does not stand to profit from it at all. On the contrary, the departure of her daughter diminishes the available labour supply for work in the home and in the fields.

582 Young people brought up in the homes of the great must wait a long time before their master or mistress will allow them to leave to
[357] be married. The *inchoreke*, young women of good family who are the personal servants of princes and princesses, are often 25 years old before they are married. The *abakamyi*, young men of good family who milk for the great families, are sometimes 35 or 40 at marriage. Among the commoners, the children of the wealthy are
[565] able to marry early, the girls at 15 or 16 and the boys at 18. Poor people envy them and have to wait five to ten years longer before they can be married.

584 A girl's father waits for a visit from a man who is looking for a wife for his son. Sometimes, a boy may ask his father to dower a young girl to whom he has taken a fancy. However, it is the two fathers who decide everything. Neither the girl nor the boy need be formally advised of their father's decisions. Nevertheless, a father will probably tell his son and a mother will tell her daughter.
[564] If not, a girl among the Tutsi of western Burundi will guess that she is engaged from the arrival of the prescribed number of pots of beer from the family asking for her and from the gifts of beer and food sent by relatives for the celebration. She will guess the ap-
[591 proach of the wedding day most easily from the construction of the *indaro*, a temporary dwelling, in her father's yard, where she will
342] live with her husband for the first year of the marriage. (On the wedding day, the girl's father must absent himself from his house.)
591 If the new husband and wife are satisfied with each other and if they have a child, they will leave to take up permanent residence on the property the young husband has received from his father.

585 The Tutsi in the east of Burundi and the Hutu marry at the home
[184] of the groom's father. It is then the young man who deduces from the activities in the household that he will soon be married. The intended bride should properly be told who her intended bride-

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groom is so that she can obey the rule forbidding her to look at or speak to the man she is to marry. There are nonetheless young people, orphans or children whose parents are inconsiderate, who do not know until the wedding day that arrangements have been made to marry them. If this happens to a young girl, it is said, she becomes very frightened by the sudden necessity to go perhaps very far away to live with a strange family and with a man whom she has probably never seen. Although the young girl receives new clothes from the family of her bridegroom, although she goes to her new home accompanied by a representative of her family and by her friends and cousins (neither her mother nor her father may attend the wedding at the groom's home), the happy dreams of marriage change into nightmares. The bride is hardly reassured by a wedding ceremony that is a symbolic kidnapping. The hostility between the two patrilineages is supposed to be play-acting, but under the influence of beer, it often becomes genuine quarrelling. Weddings are almost invariably marked by arguments and mutual criticisms which are sometimes very bitter. In truth, hatred for a husband may still burn in the memory of an elderly lady as she speaks of her wedding of 50 years ago, if she had not been told in advance and if her husband on their wedding night behaved like a wild young man and took her by force and against her will. If the groom and parents-in-law are kind, they will be able to calm the fears of a bride. For the four days of the honeymoon, they are indulgent towards her. The husband and his brothers give her little gifts to persuade her to eat, they bribe her so that she will talk to them, and the mother-in-law sends beer and food. In this way, she can become accustomed to her new home.

A father who is wise and kind chooses a good husband for his daughter. He will point out that a bad marriage is not worth the trouble. If soon after the marriage his daughter returns home with a legitimate reason for having left her husband, the father will have to return the dowry and wait for someone else to come and ask for his daughter. It sometimes happens that a father is more interested in the dowry than in the happiness of his daughter. He will then accept the first offer made him, even if it comes from a man he knows is bad, or, scandal of scandals, from an old man. (The latter connotes incest, involving as it does a male of an older generation than the female.) Or, if the father is dead, a girl may be given by her paternal uncle to anyone who comes along. Men of this kind do not allow the women to come back home again when they are dissatisfied with their husbands. An orphan or the daughter of a bad father will have the good luck to please

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593 her husband and to have a good life with him only if she is liked
776 by *Imana*.

564 The dowry represents wealth for the father. The average Tutsi
583 expects to receive a cow for his daughter, an average Hutu eight hoes. However, today the Hutu often and the Tutsi sometimes pay
[556] the dowry in cash. For the husband, the dowry purchases the
178 children produced by the woman during the term of their marriage. For the young woman, the dowry is a measure of her social value. She has discussed with other girls how much a man will have to give for her. Young Tutsikazi flatter each other by saying that they are certainly worth four cows—the dowry of a Tutsikazi of a very good patrilineage. A Hutukazi may boast of the 2,500 Congo francs (50 dollars) that were given for her, for everyone knows that 1,500 Congo francs (30 dollars) is the average for a Hutukazi. Or, a poor woman who is slightly mad is overcome by shame, for everyone knows that her father has given her in marriage without demanding a dowry. The more one has given for a young woman,
[554] the higher her social status. The wife of a wealthy man will have
[556] more clothes and less work, more respect and less hardship, than the wife of a poor man.

562 Although a young woman looks forward to marriage to rise
585 above her painfully low status as a female child, she knows very well that what lies before her is a lifetime of work and that she will for a long time be under the authority of others. She is in effect sent from her father's household, where she works for her mother, to her husband's household, where she works for her husband and her mother-in-law. Regarding the sentiments of the husband towards his wife, or of men in general towards women, it is enough
[538] to mention that in the rich oral literature of Burundi, there is not one poem or song of love. At best, among the *amazina*—praise-
[533] poems, most of which praise the king or a generous patron or the man himself as a warrior—there are several which praise a good wife. She is praised for her cleverness, for her indefatigable efforts on behalf of her husband, for the cleanness of the butter she churns, and she may be given the compliment of comparison with a cow. In all truth, a man may sometimes have a great love, or be infatuated
[152] with his wife or his mistress. He does not talk about it very much; he would certainly not talk about it with strangers. At all events, love is not relevant to married life except in the general form it takes as the basis of the exchange of gifts and services between superiors and inferiors.

591 Every married woman of every class and caste works for her
[593] husband. Often a bride goes to live in the same household with her